

Provisional Program Alphabetical order

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The authenticity trap: Co-produced narratives in tourism to Mandate Palestine

During the 1920s and 1930s, local actors in the Eastern Arab Mediterranean encouraged tourism not only in order to foster economic growth but also to articulate political claims. Particularly in the countries under imperial rule, tourist mobility created a space of communication allowing intellectuals, entrepreneurs and interest groups to present their demands for sovereignty to most-ly European tourists. Yet, while local associations in Lebanon and Egypt actively promoted the modernity of their emerging nations, Palestinian actors rather highlighted historical continuities, multi-religious coexistence and local traditions. Building on Nikolas Glover's notion of "co-produced histories", I understand these narratives of Palestinian guidebook authors and tour guides – and their failure – as a result of the specific dynamics between competing actors in tour-ism to Mandate Palestine.

Based on an analysis of brochures, postcards, as well as travel diaries of tourists, I argue that the (mostly Christian) Palestinian actors in tourism emphasized historical continuities and traditions in order to falsify Zionist allegations of an "empty" Palestine. However, this narrative of authen-ticity failed to convince European tourists of the legitimacy of Palestinian claims not only because of inadequate strategies of communication (the comprehensive communication strategy of Zion-ist associations remained largely unanswered by Palestinian actors), but also due to a problem inherent in the narrative of authenticity. I suggest that the dominant presence of Zionist moder-nity pushed the Palestinian actors into adopting

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narratives of authenticity and tradition, which, from the point of view of the tourist audience, ultimately relegated Palestinian claims to the past.

Key words: tourism; Palestine; Mandate; nationalism; historical narratives

Biography

Jasmin Daam studied history, French literature and linguistics as well as Italian literature and linguistics at the University of Konstanz and the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne. In 2015, she joined the University of Kassel as research and teaching assistant in the field of global history and the history of globalization processes. Her main research interests concern colonial and glob-al history, the history of the modern Middle East and North Africa, as well as cultural history with a particular focus on the history of travel and tourism. As a member of the "Modern Medi-terranean" research network funded by the German National Research Association (DFG), she co-organised a conference in Beirut in October 2019 on the topic "Questioning the Mediterrane-an: (Self-)Representations from the Southern Shore" (with Esther Möller).

Jasmin Daam is currently engaged in a Ph.D. project on "Tourist spaces: The Arab Eastern Medi-terranean as a tourist destination in 1920s and 1930s", which has been supported by research grants from the *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes*, the German Historical Institute in Paris as well as the German Historical Institute in London. The project aims to explore how tourism both reflected and shaped the spatial order of the Arab Eastern Mediterranean after World War I. The contributions of the Mandate powers, national movements, local intellectuals and entrepreneurs, and tourists themselves are examined on the basis of a variety of source material, both textual and visual.

Chloe Emmott c.m.emmott@gre.ac.uk

Intersections of archaeology and tourism in Late Ottoman and British Mandate Palestine

The boom in Biblical archaeology and tourism in Palestine were largely contemporaneous and archaeology often acted as a magnet for tourists, attracting interested visitors to The Holy land, and even to excavations in progress, often to the chagrin of archaeologists.

During the Mandate era, the British mandate government worked hard to establish control over antiquities and developed the Palestine Archaeological museum out of its Ottoman predecessor and developed plans to integrate archaeological sites as tourist attractions.

I explore how the growth in tourism and archaeology was spurred on in part by the press, and the ever-growing market for travel books, both personal memoirs and practical guidebooks; as author Robert Curzon remarked it was a market 'overwhelmed with little volumes about palm trees and camels'. It was a period of change, with the end of centuries of Ottoman rule, the development of new technology enabling easier access to tourists and easier mass distributions of printed and photographic material.

I explore how archaeology and tourism helped to form an 'imagined landscape' of Palestine in the British cultural imagination. In particular I explore how the past of Palestine, through the rapid growth of archaeology as a discipline, was used to justify the present and how this informed the 'world as an exhibition' view of Palestine, and the Palestinians, who this process left silenced and othered.

Key words: Archaeology, tourism, travel, photography, imagery

Biography

Chloe Emmott is a PhD student at the university of Greenwich, researching the history of British archaeology in Palestine. She completed her BA in archaeology of Ancient Civilisations at the University of Liverpool. After graduating she completed a social history project on Liverpool's Chinatown and docks and the Church of St Michaels. She returned to the University of Liverpool to study her MA in archaeology, focusing on the history of excavations in Jericho.

She is interested in the history of archaeology in the Middle East, particularly Palestine, Biblical Archaeology and the political uses of heritage.

¹ Robert Curzon, Visits to Monasteries in the Levant (Cosimo, Inc., 2007).

Sarah Irving sarahirvingwork@gmail.com

"A young bookseller in Palestine": tourism, phrasebooks and politics in a Mandate stationery shop

For any visitor to modern-day Palestine/Israel, the newsagent and stationery chain Steimatzky's is likely to be a familiar sight. During the period of British Mandate rule, when Steimatzky's was established, its reach highlighted the extent to which, despite the rigidification of state borders, Mandate Palestine was a part of a wider Middle East. Not only did Steimatzky's have branches in Beirut, Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria and Damascus – mirroring the networks of some Arab Palestinian businesses – but it published books emblematic of the social, ethnic and linguistic complexity of Palestine, including a number of Arabic self-teaching manuals and phrasebooks written by a Palestinian Arab author. On the other hand, Yehezkel Steimatzky, one of the brothers who founded the chain, was a close associate and friend of the Revisionist Zionist leader Zeev Jabotinsky, providing him at times with secretarial support and being questioned in relation to several of the Revisionists' acts of political murder. This paper discusses the way in which Palestine was presented in publications aimed at tourists and visitors to Palestine, including travel guides and language phrasebooks, and explores what they tell us about identity, politics and business in Mandate Palestine, especially when juxtaposed with the apparently jarring contradictions of their production.

Biography

Sarah Irving is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at Linnaeus University, Sweden, and will be taking up a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at Edge Hill University in January 2020. Her PhD, at the University of Edinburgh, focused on knowledge creation amongst a small group of Palestinian Christians during the Mandate period, and her subsequent research has primarily concerned the role of local labourers, especially women, in archaeology in Late Ottoman Palestine. She is the author of a number of academic and non-academic books and articles on Palestine and other areas of the Middle East.

Rachel Mairs r.mairs@reading.ac.uk

'Teach Yourself Arabic!': Colloquial Arabic through Phrasebooks, 1798-1945

Drawing upon my current British Academy project, this paper explores how the Arabic language was taught to and learnt by speakers of other languages outside formal educational contexts in the period between the Expedition of Napoleon and the Second World War. Phrasebooks and vocabularies are an under-utilised resource in both historical sociolinguistics and social history. They provide an opportunity to look at how travellers without a traditional European Orientalist education engaged - or failed to engage - with the Arabic language and the Middle East. They also provide an insight into how Arabs sought to present their language to foreigners. I will review a selection of phrasebooks for speakers of English, French, German, Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew for use in Palestine, and discuss what these tell us about the language-learning strategies of both students and teachers, and the impact this had on relations between Palestinians and foreigners.

Key words: phrasebooks, Arabic, language-learning, tourism, First World War

Biography

Rachel Mairs is Professor of Classics and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Reading. She has previously held positions at New York University, the University of Oxford and Brown University. Her research focusses on ethnicity and multilingualism in Hellenistic Egypt and Central Asia. She has also published on the colonial history of archaeology in the Middle East. Her publications include The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language and Identity in Greek Central Asia (2014), Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters (with Maya Muratov, 2015) and From Khartoum to Jerusalem: The Dragoman Solomon Negima and his Clients (2016). She currently holds a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship for the project 'Teach Yourself Arabic: Foreigners Learning Colloquial Arabic 1798-1945'.

Micaela Sahhar micaelasahhar@yahoo.com.au

'Behold the Promised Land': Christian-Palestinian entrepreneurs in Mandate tourism

This paper investigates Christian Palestinian involvement in tourism, and Western Pilgrimage, in Mandate Palestine, particularly the tension between political fidelity and mercantile aspirations. It examines two 1930s travel pamphlets, published in English and co-authored by a Greek-Orthodox Jerusalemite, George M. Sahhar (1901-1976). Sahhar tourism enterprises in Jerusalem catered to an English speaking British and American clientele, some associated with the British-Israelite movement. These guides indicate Western appetite for biblical and pseudo-historical narratives of Jewish connections to Palestine, later deployed in Israeli national narratives.

Traveller's Notebook for Palestine (1931), presents a geography overshadowed by scripture, explicitly declaimed in the foreword: 'the presence of the Saviour is felt at every turning'. Twentieth century Palestine is made significant through biblification, a rationale that also determines the selection of entries. For example, Nazareth 'owes all its celebrity' to Jesus Christ, and, in the estimation of the authors, remained undistinguished in the 20th century.

The Traveller's Companion to the Holy Land (1935) reveals, in its text and advertising, the nuanced connections between Christian-Palestinian tour operators and commercial markets in Jerusalem. The guide offers details of Jewish-antiquity and the 20th century political forces that resulted in the creation of Israel thirteen years later, including remarks on the Balfour Declaration and activities of the Jewish National Fund.

Both guides offer insight into Christian tour operators and the tastes of their clientele. Together, they indicate the ambivalent instrumentality of Christian Palestinian entrepreneurs in biblifying Palestine for the Western imaginary, a strategy now implicated in normalizing Israel's creation in 1948.

Key words: Biblification, Christian-Palestinians, Narrative appropriation, Mandate tourism, Western imaginary

Biography

Micaela Sahhar is an Australian-Palestinian researcher, educator and poet. She lectures at Trinity College in Melbourne in the History of Ideas program where she has worked towards decolonizing the curriculum. Her doctoral project focused on Israeli national narrative and Western media coverage in the 21st century. This work was particularly concerned with media coverage of Israeli military incursions in Palestinian territory, the elision of Palestinian narrative, and the possibilities of its recuperation. Micaela has had articles published on comparative Israeli and Australian settler-identities, settler-state treatment of its others, and contemporary resistance strategies in Palestine in edited books and Australian and international journals. Her poetry has been published in *The Age, Southerly* and *Arena Magazine* and her commentary pieces on Israel/Palestine have appeared in online journals, *Overland* and *Arena*. Her current research interests include comparative settler colonialism and narrative appropriation, identity and indigeneity, and the question of resistance in settler-colonial societies.

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Private and official dragomans for French in Palestine. Cultural interface, Image of the Promised Land and loyalty (1880-1920)

At the end of the XIXth century, when France envisaged a long-lasting sovereignty in the region, French officials and French tourists considered the Maronites as their natural allies, but also as a channel of French influence. Maronites played a central role as private and official dragomans, both being tourist agents, translators and cultural interfaces for French actors (diplomats, tourists, pilgrims) in Palestine, as part of Great Syria.

This paper will draw a portrait of some of these "dragomans", reconsidering their role, personal trajectories, ties with the French administration and with French tourists and pilgrims. It will examine their role as intercultural agents via the prism of loyalty.

Based on diplomatic archives from the French consulate in Jerusalem, tourist guides and travelers memoirs, this paper will also examine the tourist itineraries and the image of Palestine as part of Greater Syria through both the lenses of the relation between France and the so-called Holy Land and interregional contacts

Key words: Palestine, dragomans, tourism, French consulate in Jerusalem

Biography

Clémentine Rubio is an Aspasia project fellow at Leiden University (February-May 2020), and Research Associate at the University of Tours, at Paris 3-Sorbonne Nouvelle University and the French Research Center in Jerusalem. She completed a PhD at Tours University in June 2018, focusing on the history of French language teaching in Palestine. Her research interests include the question of language spread, linguistic diplomacy, and language identity. More recently, she focuses on the question of archives in the study of language spread and on the role of women in the history of language teaching.

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Investigating the role of an Italian non-state actor in cultural diplomacy and tourism promotion in Palestine: the ANSMI's written and photographic archives (1900-1948)

The Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Italiani was founded in 1887 in Florence by the famous Italian archaeologist Ernesto Schiaparelli (1856-1928). In helping missionaries to found schools, hospitals and other humanitarian buildings in North Africa and the Middle East, the association pursued a twofold aim: spread the Italian language and culture on the one hand; strengthen the Catholic presence in the Mediterranean basin on the other hand. Later on the association's building activity increased and expanded to include the construction of hotels and sport centres. Between 1890 and 1940, "the ANSMI was the most important promoter of Italian building activity in the Middle East and North Africa" (Nuzzacci, 2012).

Although Arab Ottoman provinces were since the beginning on the ANSMI's agenda, its presence in Ottoman and later mandatory Palestine has not sufficiently studied yet. Along with the construction and the renovation of missionary schools, orphanages and hospitals, the association purchased lands in order to build agricultural colonies and a hospite for pilgrims. The sanctuary of the Mount of the Beatitudes was among its largest constructions in the late 1930s.

This paper aims first to present the ANSMI's untapped archives and their potential for the study of foreign cultural policies and humanitarian diplomacy in Palestine. Second, drawing on a rich photographic and written material, it intends to show how imperial aims, humanitarian concerns, and tourism promotion initiatives were intertwined in the associations' activities in Palestine during the first half of the 20th century. Ultimately, it sheds light on an Italian non-state actor's contribution to both cultural diplomacy in Palestine and the "invention of the Holy Land" which resulted among other things in the mapping of new pilgrimages routes.

Key words: Palestine, ANSMI, archives, cultural diplomacy, tourism promotion

Biography

Annalaura Turiano is a research fellow in modern history at the École française de Rome. She is also associated with the Institute of Research and Studies on the Arab and Muslim World (IREMAM) in Aix-en-Provence. She holds a PhD from the University of Aix-Marseille (2016). Her first monograph (forthcoming) is based on her PhD dissertation and deals with the Italian Salesian missionaries in Egypt between 1890 and 1970.

Her specialisation is in the modern history of Italy, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. She focuses on imperialism, gender, missionary education and philanthropy in the 19th and 20th centuries. Her current project investigates the role of Italian female missionaries in the Eastern Mediterranean (notably Egypt and Syria) both in a period of high imperialism and of imperial transition.

With respect to these topics, she participated in several international conferences and workshops and published numerous articles and book chapters. She co-edited the book *Le Møyen-Orient de 1876 à 1980*, Paris, Éditions Atlande, 2017. Her recent publications focus on missionaries, gender and education in contemporary Egypt.

Between 2008 and 2016, she worked as a teaching assistant and lecturer at the University of Aix Marseille and at the National Institute for Oriental languages and cultures in Paris. She has been the recipient of several grants and scholarships from international research institutes and universities. In the past ten years,

she has conducted extensive fieldwork and archival research in Italy, Egypt, France and the United Kingdom.

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This paper will discuss the transformation of the Western Wall between the mid nineteenth century to 1948, through its visual representations in emblems, ritual artefacts, paintings and photography. Jewish schematic representations of the Wall circulate from the 18th century, and during the 19th century became one of the most familiar motifs in Judaica, featuring on ritual objects and other artefacts. However, as the Wall attracted greater numbers of tourists and pilgrims, the schematic representation was replaced by "realist" representations in paintings and photographs. These representations, produced primarily for a Christian European market, reaffirmed key perceptions of Palestine as a biblical Holy Land frozen in time, and of Jews as a ruined people. Such representations serve as a springboard for Zionist engagement with the wall as a desired and detested symbol of Jewish ruin and decay. For British colonial authorities, the site was a dangerous combination of archaeological heritage, a "status quo" holy site, and a battlefield between Zionists and Arabs. In this paper I will show how these representations came to a head after 1929, when the materiality of the Wall; its perception by British colonial Western tourists, Jewish pilgrims, local Jews Zionists as well as Muslim Palestinian residents and political actors, coincided and collided, producing strange overlaps and contestations.

Key words: Zionism, Western Wall, heritage, photography, materiality

Biography

Yair Wallach is a senior lecturer in Israeli Studies at SOAS, the University of London, where he is also the head of the SOAS Centre for Jewish Studies. His research deals with the social and cultural history of modern Palestine/Israel, focussing on visual and material culture and the urban sphere. He has published articles on the use of maps and banknotes as symbols, on the sociology of late Ottoman Palestine's Jewish communities, on "shared space" in Jerusalem before 1948, and on Arabic and Hebrew street texts in early 20th century Jerusalem. His book, *A City in Fragments: Urban Text in Modern Jerusalem* (Stanford University Press, 2020), analyses the transformation of Jerusalem's textual landscapes - stone inscriptions, graffiti, street name plates and other forms in Arabic and Hebrew, from the mid 19th century to 1948.

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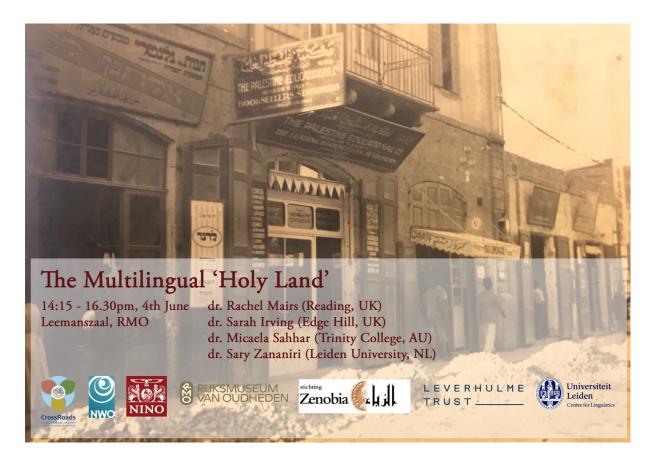
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Public events at RMO

Provisional program

'The Multilingual Holy Land'

Thursday 4/06/2020 14-17:00



Rachel Mairs (UK) University of Reading

Colloquial Arabic manuals and archaeologists in Palestine and Egypt

Books presentation: Sary Zananiri, Sarah Irving and Micaela Sahhar

The Multilingual Holy Land

Presentation of the four language editions of Frank Scholten's Palestine Illustrated, George Antonius' tourist guides and George Sahhar's tourist guides

'Graffiti, street names and visiting cards: the fractured history of Arabic and Hebrew urban textuality in modern Jerusalem'

Thursday 4/06/2020, 17:30-19:00



A CITY IN FRAGMENTS Urban Text in Modern Jerusalem

YAIR WALLACH

Book presentation: Yair Wallach, SOAS (2020, Stanford University Press); discutant: Cyrus Schayegh, Graduate Institute of Geneva

In the mid-nineteenth century, Jerusalem was rich with urban texts inscribed in marble, gold, and cloth, investing holy sites with divine meaning. Ottoman modernization and British colonial rule transformed the city; new texts became a key means to organize society and subjectivity. Stone inscriptions, pilgrims' graffiti, and sacred banners gave way to street markers, shop signs, identity papers, and visiting cards that each sought to define and categorize urban space and people.

A City in Fragments tells the modern history of a city overwhelmed by its religious and symbolic significance. Yair Wallach walked the streets of Jerusalem to consider the graffiti, logos, inscriptions, official signs, and ephemera that transformed the city over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As these urban texts became a tool in the service of capitalism, nationalism, and colonialism, the affinities of Arabic and Hebrew were forgotten and these sisterlanguages found themselves locked in a bitter war. Looking at the writing of—and literally on—Jerusalem, Wallach offers a creative and expansive history of the city, a fresh take on modern urban texts, and a new reading of the Israel/Palestine conflict through its material culture.

'New industries in Ancient Lands: Archaeology and Tourism at the crossroads'

Friday 4/06/2020, 15-17:00



New industries in Ancient Lands (NIAL) considers the vocabularies of tourism to think about the ways in which Palestine was both produced and consumed by both Arabs, Jews and Europeans. Archaeology, archaeologists and photography are central: they informed the tourism industry through the production of travel guides and tour manuals, photo books and postcards, and the framing of holy sites and biblical cartographies.

NIAL also considers the relationship between tourism and cultural diplomacy, and thus archaeology, which was central to such endeavors given the formation of the joint British, French and American Archaeological Advisory Board and the ways in which such cultural diplomacy shaped the presentation of archaeological materials. The Palestine Archaeological Museum, now the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, stands testament to such processes.

NIAL will address how local cultural production may have formed as a response to Western scholarly interests in the region. Archaeology became increasingly entwined with both Western diplomatic aspirations in the Levant, but also part of the circuits of popular tourism. In this respect, the biblical overtones of 'Holy Land' tourism is both a product of modernity (especially the technological infrastructures that enabled it), but also a projection into an ancient past that undermines such modernity.

Jasmin Daam (U. Kassel)

Sary Zananiri (Leiden University), Annelies Moors (UvA, tbc): "Tourism and postal cards' Karène Sanchez Summerer (Leiden University), Willy Jansen (U. Radboud Nijmegen, tbc), "The Holy Land Foundation (1903-1930); Holland and the Holy Land, The Holy Land in Holland'

Photographic exhibition

Frank Scholten: Archaeology and Tourism in the 'Holy Land'

RMO exhibition, 2nd April 2020- end of the summer 2020



In early 1921, Dutch photographer Frank Scholten (1881-1942) arrived in the port of Jaffa in British Mandate Palestine. Over two years he took more than 20,000 photographs mostly in Mandate Palestine, but also Tranjordan and French Mandate Syria and Lebanon.

Scholten shows us a world in which the ancient and modern intermingled. Archaeology was a significant theme, showing both the ancient sites and their modern histories. We see the impact of archaeology as an academic discpline, but also its popularisation through its relationship to tourism, especially in the antiquities and souvenir stores and the photographic studios that were both directly involved in documenting archaeological sites, as well as selling photos to tourists.

His images gives us a rare glimpse into how modernity re-shaped Palestine through archaeology, the porosity between archaeological photography and popular imaging, which brought so much interest to the region, even for those who couldn't visit in person. While the tourism industry had long existed, photography bolstered public interest in archaeology, as we see from the growth of photobooks and travel guides.

Scholten's approach to photography utlised the lens of the biblical, but did not shy away from exploring its relationship to modernity and the effects archaeology had on early Mandate society.

This exhibition was made possible courtesy of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientfic Research (NWO) through the NWO Vidi project *Crossroads: European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine (1920-1950)* and the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO), through the Frank Scholten fund.

"Amwas" (Imwas or biblical Emmaus) c. 1921-23

